

Message Text

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ACTION NEA-16

INFO OCT-01 EUR-25 ISO-00 OMB-01 CIEP-03 SAJ-01 CIAE-00

DODE-00 PM-07 H-03 INR-11 L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-07 PA-04

RSC-01 PRS-01 SP-03 SS-20 USIA-15 IO-14 EB-11 COME-00

FEAE-00 SCI-06 FPC-01 DRC-01 /155 W

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R 071035Z AUG 74

FM AMEMBASSY ABU DHABI

TO SECSTATE WASHDC 1902

INFO AMEMBASSY JIDDA

AMEMBASSY LONDON

AMEMBASSY KUWAIT

AMEMBASSY MANAMA

AMEMBASSY CAIRO

AMCONGEN DHAHRAN

AMEMBASSY TEHRAN

AMEMBASSY BEIRUT

AMEMBASSY SANAA

C O N F I D E N T I A L ABU DHABI 1053

KUWAIT ALSO PASS DOHA AND MUSCAT; BEIRUT ALSO PASS BAGHDAD

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR TC SA

SUBJECT: FURTHER COMMENTS ON UAE-SAUDI AGREEMENT

REF: ABU DHABI 1009

1. SUMMARY. WHILE DETAILS OF UAE-SAUDI AGREEMENT STILL NOT REPEAT NOT AVAILABLE, IT IS ASSUMED HERE THAT AGREEMENT FULLY RESOLVES BORDER PROBLEM AND WILL LEAD IN DUE COURSE TO ESTABLISHMENT UAE-SAUDI RELATIONS. FROM NUMBER OF ANGLES, WE SEE AGREEMENT AS WHOLLY POSITIVE DEVELOPMENT FOR US INTERESTS IN AREA.

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2. GOVERNMENT OFFICIALS KNOWLEDGEABLE ABOUT DETAILS OF UAE-SAUDI AGREEMENT ARE OUT OF COUNTRY, SOME REMAINING IN ZAYID'S ENTOURAGE AS HE MAKES NORTH AFRICAN SWING, OTHERS PEELING OFF FOR VACATIONS IN EUROPE. WE HAVE STILL NOT SEEN MAP OF BORDER CHANGES AND THEREFORE CANNOT DESCRIBE THEM WITH ANY GREATER PRECISION THAN GENERAL DESCRIPTION PROVIDED REFTEL. ONLY FURTHER REPORT WE HAVE HEARD (AS YET UNCONFIRMED) IS THAT AGREEMENT PROVIDES THAT OFF-SHORE RIGHTS ALONG SHORELINE CEDED TO SAUDI ARABIA ARE "UNAFFECTED", PERHAPS MEANING THAT ABU DHABI RETAINS THEM BEYOND NORMAL TERRITORIAL WATERS WHICH WE SUPPOSE WOULD HAVE TO BE TRANSFERRED TO SAUDI ARABIA ALONG WITH SHORELINE.

3. OUTLINE OF BASIC PROVISIONS OF AGREEMENT ARE BECOMING GENERALLY KNOWN AND THERE SEEMS SOLID LOCAL CONSENSUS THAT AGREEMENT IS EXCELLENT DEVELOPMENT FOR U.A.E. BOTH SHAIKHS RASHID OF DUBAI AND SULTAN OF SHARJAH, UPON WHOM I CALLED LAST FEW DAYS APPEARED UNRESERVEDLY HAPPY ABOUT AGREEMENT. I ASKED RASHID WHETHER AGREEMENT HAD LEFT ANY LOOSE ENDS HANGING, AND HE SAID, QUOTE NO, EVERYTHING IS SETTLED END QUOTE. RASHID SAID ESTABLISHMENT OF DIPLOMATIC RELATIONS WAS AGREED IN PRINCIPLE AND HE EXPECTED STEP ACTUALLY TO BE TAKEN AT TIME AGREEMENT IS SIGNED IN SAUDI ARABIA.

4. ASSUMING AGREEMENT IS ALONG LINES WE HAVE REPORTED, AND THAT IT IS IMPLEMENTED IN GOOD FAITH BY BOTH SIDES, FURTHER SEVERAL DAYS' REFLECTION STRENGTHENS OUR BELIEF THAT IT REPRESENTS SOLID PLUS FOR US INTERESTS IN AREA, WITH FEW IF ANY NEGATIVE ASPECTS. MAIN ACHIEVEMENT, AS WE REPORTED EARLIER, IS REMOVAL OF DISPUTE WHICH TROUBLEMAKERS--WHETHER INTERNAL OR EXTERNAL--MIGHT SEEK TO EXPLOIT TO GAIN ADVANTAGE IN UAE. RESULTANT INCREASE IN STABILITY SHOULD IN TURN EASE TO SOME FURTHER DEGREE SHAH'S ANXIETY THAT BICKERING AMONG ARABS ON THIS SIDE OF GULF WILL MAKE AREA VULNERABLE TO GROWTH OF RADICAL AND/OR SOVIET INFLUENCE HERE. OF COURSE, AGREEMENT DOES NOT REPEAT NOT REMOVE THIS THREAT AND SHAHKLILL KNOW IT, BUT IT SEEMS TO US PROBABLE THAT TREND ALREADY UNDERWAY IN IRANIAN POLICY OF SEEKING AGREEMENTS WITH RULERS HERE (ALBEIT AFTER HARD BARGAINING) RATHER THAN PUSHING DISPUTES TO POINT OF

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ARMED CONFRONTATION, WILL NOW BE STRENGTHENED.

5. UAE-SAUDI RAPPROCHEMENT SHOULD ALSO HAVE STABILIZING EFFECT ON UAE FOREIGN POLICIES IN ARAB SPHERE. PART OF MOTIVATION BEHIND DISPOSITION OF ZAYID AND HIS ADVISORS TO ESTABLISH CORDIAL TIES WITH ARAB RADICALS (AS WELL AS CONSERVATIVES) HAS BEEN INSTINCTIVE SEARCH FOR SUPPORT WHEREEVER IT MIGHT BE FOUND TO FORESTALL SAUDI MOVE AGAINST HIM. WE WOULD

NOT REPEAT NOT EXPECT AGREEMENT TO BRING ABOUT DRAMATIC SHIFT TOWARD CONSERVATIVE-ORIENTED OR ISOLATIONIST UAE POLICIES: ZAYID WILL CONTINUE TO TAKE PRIDE IN MAINTAINING INDEPENDENT FOREIGN POLICY, HE IS TEMPERMENTALLY PRONE TO PLAY ROLE IN ARAB AFFAIRS, AND SEVERAL OF HIS INFLUENTIAL ADVISORS GENUINELY SEE UAE AS BEST SERVED BY HAVING GOOD RELATIONS WITH EVERYBODY. THESE FACTORS WILL NOT CHANGE, BUT WITH SAUDI DISPUTE RESOLVED, ZAYID SHOULD FEEL HIMSELF UNDER LESS PRESSURE, WITH MORE SCOPE FOR BRINING A CAREFUL PRAGMATIC JUDGMENT TO BEAR ON HIS FOREIGN INVOLVEMENTS. WE BELIEVE THIS WILL MANIFEST ITSELF OVER TIME.

6. SAME ASPECT COULD, OVER LONG TERM, ALSO CONTRIBUTE O INTERNAL COHESIVENESS OF FEDERATION. IF EFFECT OF SAUDI CONNECTION IS TO REDUCE IN SOME MEASURE ZAYID'S INVOLVEMENTS WITH ARAB RADICALS, IT WILL REMOVE ONE SOURCE OF UNEASINESS THAT OTHER SHAIKHS HAVE FELT ABOUT COMMITTING THEMSELVES FULLY TO FEDERATION. BOTH SHAIKHS RASHID AND SAQR, CONSERVATIVE ARAB RULERS IN THEIR OWN SEPARATE STYLES, HAVE MAINTAINED CLOSE RELATIONS WITH SAUDIS AND WILL FEEL MORE COMFORTABLE ABOUT ZAYID IF THEY SEE HIM ALSO DRAWN INTO THIS CONSERVATIVE ISLAMIC WEB. RASHID TOLD ME WITH OBVIOUS APPROVAL THAT PRINCE FAHD HAD TALKED TO ZAYID VERY SERIOUSLY ABOUT WHAT HE SHOULD WATCH OUT FOR DURING HIS VISIT TO IRAQ.

7. SINGLY NONE OF THESE FACTORS SHOULD BE EXAGGERATED, BUT TAKEN TOGETHER, THEY COALESCE INTO CURRENT WHICH WILL MAKE ITS FORCE FELT AND WHICH WE SEE AS WHOLLY FAVORABLE TO US POLICY PURPOSES IN THIS AREA.
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